

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

FROM FORTRESS MONROE.

What Preceded the Fight.

From Our Special Correspondent.

FORTRESS MONROE, Old Point, June 8, 1861.

Three men escaped from Norfolk yesterday in an open boat, under the guise of fishermen, and reached here this morning. To avoid observation and escape the Rebel batteries, they rowed over 30 miles. Gen. Butler provided them with passage to New-York on board the Alabama. They confirm the statements in my last letter. Another Virginia military company in Norfolk has disbanded, on account of the disaffection that had arisen in their ranks. It was thought the feeling would extend to other companies. Mechanics and others employed by the Rebels are paid in shillings exclusively, which increases the discontent. An attempt will be made to construct a floating battery out of the wreck of the Merrimack. An attempt has been made to raise the Plymouth, but as yet she had been raised only one foot, and the attempt will be abandoned. The Rebels are very well posted with reference to our movements.

On Thursday, a rumor prevailed that a considerable force had left Richmond to form a junction with the forces at Yorktown, for the purpose of making a demonstration on Newport News.

The General Court-Martial has finished the cases of three soldiers belonging to Col. Carr's regiment, and on Patrick Thornton and Donald D. Cameron, each of Company D, 2d Regiment New-York Volunteers, passed the following sentence:

"The defendant, and through the entire Brigade, stripped of his uniform, with a rope about his neck, and a placard with the word 'Traitor' on his back. Further, that he be forthwith paid all pay and allowances now due him, and be discharged from the service of the United States."

This sentence was passed on each of the accused, and will probably be carried into effect to-morrow.

The following is Gen. Butler's approval of the proceedings and sentence:

"The proceedings, findings, and sentence of Donald D. Cameron, private in Company D, 2d Regiment, N. Y. Volunteers, are approved, and ordered to be carried into effect before the General Court-Martial is dissolved. The sentence is an ample mitigation of the court for the crime of desertion, and the defendant, who has been found guilty, that the Commanding General will not share any part of it."

GEN. F. BUTLER, Major-General Commanding.

Lawrence Merriman, of Company D, 2d Regiment of N. Y. Volunteers, was sentenced as follows:

"Three days in the stocks, with the ball and chain attached to the right leg, to be worn twice a week."

In approving this sentence, Gen. Butler says:

"The proceedings and sentence in the case of Lawrence Merriman, Company D, 2d Regiment, New-York Volunteers, are approved, and ordered to be carried into effect before the General Court-Martial is dissolved. While the severe and degrading punishment awarded may at first thought seem too severe, it will be seen by the evidence that he was a deserting soldier, and it will be seen by the evidence that he was a deserting soldier, and it will be seen by the evidence that he was a deserting soldier."

This will do very well as a commencement. Other cases are undergoing trial, and it is probably plain now that offenders are to be rigorously dealt with. Gen. Butler has earned and will receive the thanks of all right-minded persons for the course he has pursued.

For the last week or ten days the morning boat from Baltimore has brought down every trip a number of persons, some of whom scattered themselves through the camp, thus giving the Rebels cause for all that was going on here. Gen. Butler has put a sudden check on this by requiring every person who has not already done so, to take the oath of allegiance before coming ashore. This morning it was done for the first time.

Eight or ten took the oath, two refused, and consequently remained on board.

Yesterday, the regular officers of the fortress renewed their allegiance under the order of the Department, issued some time since. A more rigid rule will hereafter be observed with reference to strangers and persons not connected with the army. With this view, Lieut. Morgan has been appointed Provost Marshal.

Our camp at Newport News for the last few days has been somewhat excited by rumors that a body of Rebels were hovering in the neighborhood, and that a large body of troops were concentrating at Yorktown, from whom an early attack might be expected. Our forces only hope that an opportunity will be afforded them to meet the enemy, and if they do not come to us, we shall not wait much longer before going to them by the most direct and shortest route. Our men have for two weeks bathed in the waters and eaten the oysters and fish of the James River, and have a strong desire to try those of York River. Besides, to Yorktown our men think they have a traditional title, and only want the opportunity to add a new glory to its history. So let Col. Magruder look out. Outward is the word, and stranger things have happened than that Gen. Butler should be the first to replant the Stars and Stripes in Richmond. The waters of the James and York Rivers our forces will make an open highway. To Norfolk, by way of Sewall's Point, is but six miles. The material augmentation of Gen. Butler's force within the last few days shortens the time when he can give the word, "Ready!"

"Onward!"

We begin to obtain dissolving views of the Naval Brigade. To-day the men are undergoing the process of muster and preliminary examination. They muster upward of six hundred; how many will bear inspection remains to be seen. There is a wonderful aggregation of muscle, in a condition the most unpresentable imaginable. The officers will not be chosen before to-morrow or next day.

Col. McClellan's regiment reached the Roads yesterday, and Col. Hawkins' regiment came in this morning. If more are coming, let them do so at once, if they would participate in the grand forward movement.

Private McCarty, in the Massachusetts 4th, who was accidentally shot by a comrade, was buried at Newport News yesterday, with impressive ceremonies. This is the first violent death that has occurred here.

The sanitary condition of the Fortress and Camp continues to be good, the hospital list growing less instead of increasing.

A new batch of negroes came in yesterday, and to-day the grand total has been somewhat enlarged. A few days since, a company left their homes in the neighborhood of Back River, embarked in row-boats, with a quantity of furniture, bedding, and a dressed hog, and came down the Chesapeake to Old Point, and landed in safety. You should have seen them as they marched into the Fortress. "De Lord is in it," said a venerable old Joe. "I know'd he'd do it!" and his face shone with thankfulness as he led the troop into the strong place of refuge.

Immense quantities of stores and ammunition continue to arrive here, and every department is worked up to its full capacity. Among the recent arrivals, I notice a number of surf-boats, of large size, which have a meaning—probably Sewall's Point. Men will be drilled to man them. The Anconita paid us a flying visit yesterday, bringing a beaver of dispatches to Gen. Butler. The squad of the 71st Regiment were a guard simply.

FORTRESS MONROE, Old Point, June 9, 1861.

Yesterday morning a squad of Col. Carr's men went over to Hampton to bake bread. Hearing that a company of Rebel cavalry were in the immediate vicinity, they went in pursuit. Hearing of the circumstance, Col. Carr, by the direction of Gen. Pierce, dispatched two companies to support the movement. As usual, the troops retired. The pursuing party advanced about two miles, when the advance guard came up with a party of cavalry and a force variously estimated from 250 to 1,000, with two pieces of artillery. Shots were exchanged, without any loss on our side. Information was sent back, when the remainder of Col. Carr's regiment were sent forward. Gen. Pierce and staff, with some of Gen. Butler's staff, followed the pursuing force. The pursuit was continued considerably beyond where the rebels were represented as having been. Gen. Pierce pushed on a considerable distance in advance of the main body. The search for rebels proving fruitless, the expedition returned at

evening. During the day, one of Col. Carr's men, whose name I have not learned, received a painful wound in the hand by the accidental discharge of his gun. Statements concerning the force of the rebels and the exchange of shots are conflicting. There is no doubt, however, that the rebels were in considerable force, and were probably the same bands that have before been shown by our pickets and scouting parties.

The alacrity seen by Col. Carr's men in taking up the pursuit spoke well for their zeal and courage. A party came upon a house which had been suddenly abandoned by the rebels that glasses of whiskey with which they were regaling themselves were left unguarded. This circumstance is regarded as proof positive of the precipitancy of their flight. The party also left behind a cavalry cap, lettered H. M. A., which our men brought away. It is needless to say that they left the fluid untouched!

Col. McClellan's regiment is encamped at the right of Col. Carr's, and will in a day or two be fully settled in their tents.

Col. Duryee's Zouaves drilled five hours yesterday, and toward evening three companies were exercised in the presence of Gen. Butler, with boats, in which species of drill they manifested commendable proficiency.

By an order of the Commanding General, Camp Butler will hereafter be known as Camp Hamilton. That at Newport News will take the designation of Camp Butler. Col. Hawkins' regiment has been encamped there.

I was in error yesterday in stating that Lieut. Morgan had been appointed Provost of the Fortress. Lieut. Smith has been designated to that important position, and Lieut. M. Gillette to the station of Quartermaster of the post. Lieut. Col. Warren has been designated by Gen. Butler to perform the duties of Provost at Camp Hamilton. These are excellent selections.

Mr. Alanson Crane of Massachusetts has been appointed Postmaster of the post, in the place of John B. Maher, removed. Mr. M. has held the office twelve years. For the first five years he donated half of the salary, and the remainder of his term, \$80 annually, to the support of the widow of a deceased brother officer, with whom he served in Southern Indian wars.

He is an old soldier, and in one capacity or other has been connected with the post since 1832. He becomes Quartermaster Tallmadge's assistant. Mr. Crane is abundantly qualified for the post, and will no doubt make a good officer. He has heretofore administered the Department of "Articles Contraband of War," with great acceptance.

I perceive that a letter written from Newport News to The Herald contains of the treatment which the volunteers receive. I have mingled not a little with the volunteers, and I am constrained to say that, while the life of a soldier is not a parlor life, nor the easiest in the world, the complaints in question are unjust, especially so far as they reflect on the commanding general. No officer was ever more solicitous for his men than Gen. Butler. If he has a partiality for any, it is for the Massachusetts men, who are his own fellow citizens. Shortcomings and errors doubtless have existed, and to some extent may now exist; but considering the circumstances under which the volunteers were brought into the field, the only wonder is that their situation has not been one of greater hardship. I venture to say that the true ground of complaint, if there is any, may be found within the regiments themselves. The commanding general should not be expected to be Quartermaster and Commissary for everybody. Generally the new regiments are lamentably deficient in this respect.

The State of Georgia sailed at noon to-day for New-York, taking 72 men, who came here as a part of the Naval Brigade. Under the energetic efforts of Col. Wardrop, the remaining men are rapidly getting into shape, and will be organized in a few days hence. Col. Bartlett and the other officers of the late Brigade are yet here. Some, if not all of them, expect to hold positions under the new organization. It is questionable whether all of them are gratified.

FROM MARYLAND.

Secession in Baltimore.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

Baltimore, June 11, 1861.

Allow me to give you a little information that I have gleaned during the last two days.

There is a decided purpose on the part of the Rebels here to create a disturbance on election day. They have been holding secret meetings, and a riot was in contemplation. Yesterday, there were boys offering for sale Secession flags, printed on cards—the same as were sold the day before bloody Friday. To-day, Jas. S. Waters, bookseller on Baltimore street, has a medalion of Jeff. Davis for sale; copies \$1.50. He has also in his window photographs of Beauregard, Davis, and Mason of Virginia. A boy has just come into my place of business offering for sale the "Song of the Southern Rights." This all goes to show how Secession is working its way back again; the snake is not killed, but only scotched.

I must tell you also about The Sun newspaper corner. Here it is that the last fragment of the Rebels daily congregated, and when a United States soldier passes, remarks are indulged in of the most offensive character; such as "You will make good manure for the soil of Virginia." The police take no notice of this, but laugh after the soldier has passed.

I have a letter in my possession from a soldier at Harper's Ferry. He says, "If Abe will let us alone for a few weeks, Harper's Ferry will be deserted; the musketeers are eating us up, and all night a fog rests over the town. If you take a broom, you can sweep it away like smoke. It is very sickly. Fresh provisions are furnished us every day, and gun caps are scarce."

ALBANY.

THE SEIZURE BY THE THIRTEENTH NEW-YORK REGIMENT.

Correspondence of The Baltimore American.

TALBOT COUNTY, Md., June 10, 1861.

Yesterday afternoon Col. Smith, with four hundred of the 13th Regiment of New-York, stationed at Annapolis, was delivered up by Perry and leaving them about one hundred and fifty men, with the remainder marched up to Eleton and demanded the delivery of all arms in the Eastern Armory. This demand was made in the name of the United States, but I have understood that Gov. Hicks also authorized it. The arms, however, were delivered up, but under the protest of the officers in charge. Six or eight small cannon, about one thousand old muskets, and a quantity of powder and ball, were the result of the seizure. Our citizens are opposed to this action, but only a few denounce it as an invasion of our rights. The worthless characters whom one will not name any town are now leaping curses on the "Northern bloodhounds," and our lawyers and politicians, in order to "make hay while the sun shines," are exciting the people to resist our Government, and denounce the war as an unbloody crusade against the peaceful citizens of the South.

Col. Smith made two arrests. Mr. Thomas Halliday, an excellent gentleman, lavishly abused the Col. and his men. He was arrested, but soon released at the request of Gen. Thomas. The other arrest was that of a lad who could not master his Southern sympathies. He also was released and advised to go to bed. One of the Lieutenants told me that they fully expected to be resisted. No opposition was made, however, and soon after their arrival both the officers and men freely conversed with the people.

A receipt for all arms removed is to be given to Gen. Thomas. The men were in Eleton only three hours. They returned to the "Ferry," and went to St. Michael's to cheer up the spirits of the Union men.

CAPT. WILSON OF THE MINNIE SCHIFFER.—It is stated that Capt. Wilson, late of the brig Minnie Schiffer, has recently gone into the privateering business under the ensign of the "Southern Confederacy." The elegant service of plate prepared by merchants of New-York and Boston, as evidence of their appreciation of his gallant conduct in rescuing the passengers of the Comaught, still awaits Capt. Wilson's orders at Tiffany's, in Broadway, where it was manufactured.

THE PRIZE COMMISSIONERS.—No new cases have been reported to the Prize Commissioners in this city, within the past few days. The Commissioners have been kept busy taking evidence in preparatory in the cases already reported, and have placed the testimony so taken in the United States District Court Clerk's Office.

LAST WORDS OF SENATOR DOUGLAS FOR THE UNION.

Senator Douglas and wife reached Chicago on their return from Washington on the evening of the 1st day of May, and were met at the depot by an immense assemblage of citizens of all parties, who insisted on escorting Mr. Douglas in procession to the great Wigwam, which was already packed with ten thousand persons. Room having been made for the admission of Mr. Douglas, he was addressed by THOMAS B. BRYAN in behalf of Chicago as follows:

SENATOR DOUGLAS: Chicago trusts, from parting with her brave volunteers, to extend her right hand to you in cordial welcome.

Their departure and your arrival are alike invested with peculiar interest, for both you and they enjoy the proud consciousness of fidelity to that flag, which, though now assailed by impious hands, ever has been, and, with the blessing of God, ever shall be, the symbol of our Nation's glory.

Sir, when last you were welcome to Chicago, it was by the hearty applause of party friends, anxious for your elevation to the highest office in the gift of the American people; now this vast assembly convened, irrespective of party, in the very hall erected by your political opponents, does homage to your patriotism.

This (then a Republican Wigwam, now hallowed anew as a "National Hall," greets you with the plaudits of ten thousand loyal spirits.

In the momentous issues of the present, the political stripes of the past sink into utter insignificance. Then the nation was at peace, and citizens turned aside from their daily avocations only to rally under the standard of this or that party candidate. Now we are startled by the beat of the drum, and by the bugle's martial notes. The North unites as one pulse, with one arm in the rally. THAT RALLY IS TO THE BATTLE-FIELD, THE WATCHWORD IS, "OUR COUNTRY." The more vigorous the prosecution of the war, the speedier will be the restoration of peace. The North, Sir, did not inaugurate hostilities; neither is this a war of sections, wherein men are at liberty, according to their nativity and residence, to exercise their option in choice of friends and foes. It is the struggle of patriots to uphold the majesty of the law, and maintain the integrity of that Government, which of all others on the face of the earth is the noblest, the proudest citadel of human liberty. When rebels essay to undermine it, no patriot can falter before allegiance to his country and fellowship with those who would implant the evergreen flag of treason in her very vitals.

In such a crisis as this, the people hold to strict adherence their public servants, whether in council or in camp. Hence execrated is Mason of Virginia; honored is Douglas of Illinois.

Davis looks for awhile in the sunshine of rebel favor, only to sink the deeper in eternal infamy. Scott, in all the wealth of an approving conscience—right in the sight of God and man—adds new lustre to his eventful life, and ere long he will be chased with Washington by the glad acclaim of exulting millions.

Sir, it is because of your promptitude and gallant efforts to sustain the Government, casting off the partisan for the freedom of the patriot, that Chicago receives you this night with open arms, and charges me in her name, and in her behalf, to bid you WELCOME!

When the cheering had in some measure subsided, Mr. Douglas spoke as follows:

MR. DOUGLAS'S SPEECH.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I thank you for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to welcome me. I thank the Committee and citizens of Chicago for this grand and imposing reception. I beg you to believe that I will not do you nor myself the injustice to believe this magnificent ovation is personal homage to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag of our country. [Cheers.]

I will not conceal gratification at the unexampled test this vast audience presents—that what political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I can say before God, my conscience is clear. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was their right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

The return we receive is War, armies marched upon our Capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is, are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy it.

What cause, what excuse do Disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied with the result of a Presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot-box? I understand it that the voice of the people expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume on the election of a particular candidate that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this? I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands that so far as the constitutional rights of the Southern States, I will say the constitutional rights of slaveholders are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing omitted of which they can complain.

There has never been a time from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land, than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good a cause for Disunion as they have to-day. What good cause have they now that has not existed under every Administration.

If they say the Territorial question—now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting Slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaint that I have heard have been of the two vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they?

The Slavery question is a mere pretext. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present Secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since, formed by leaders in the South Confederacy more than twelve months ago.

They use the Slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends. They desired the election of a Northern candidate, by a sectional vote, in order to show that the two sections cannot live together. When the history of the two years from the Lecompton charter down to the Presidential election shall be written, it will be shown that the scheme was deliberately made to break up this Union.

They desired a Northern Republican to be elected by a purely Northern vote, and then assign this fact as a reason why the sections may no longer live together. If the Disunion candidate in the late Presidential contest had carried the United South, their scheme was the Northern candidate successful, to seize the Capitol last Spring, and by a United South and divided North hold it. That scheme was defeated in the defeat of the Disunion candidate in several of the Southern States.

But this is no time for a detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots—or traitors.

Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question. [Cheers.] I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States, party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans, when the South

would step in with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make easy prey of the victors. Their scheme was carnage and civil war in the North.

There are one way to defeat this. In Illinois it is being so defeated by closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope of peace I was ready for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the question comes of war in the cotton-fields of the South or the corn-fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the better.

We cannot close our eyes to the sad and solemn fact that war does exist. The Government must be maintained, its enemies overthrown, and the more stupendous our preparations the less the bloodshed, and the shorter the struggle. But we must remember certain restraints on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people, and the war must be prosecuted in a manner recognized by Christian nations.

We must not invade Constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will uphold my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized. [Cheers.]

The Constitution and its guarantees are our birth-right, and I am ready to enforce that inalienable right to the last extremity. We cannot recognize Secession. Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved government, but you have destroyed social order, upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French Revolution.

Then we have a solemn duty—to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome from the few short months since a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all animosities and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. When we shall have again a country with the United States flag floating over it, and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us.

I have said more than I intended to say. [Cries of "Go on."] It is a task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war, but as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country.

I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position. United, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed. [Prolonged cheering.]

At the close of his address, nine cheers were given to Mr. Douglas, who was escorted to his hotel by the Committee.

LETTER FROM THE HON. JOSEPH HOIT.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1861.

J. F. SEED, esq., Louisville, Ky.—My Dear Sir: The recent overwhelming vote in favor of the Union in Kentucky has afforded unspeakable gratification to all true men throughout the country. That vote indicates that the people of that gallant State have been neither seduced by the arts nor terrified by the menaces of the revolutionists in their midst, and that it is their fixed purpose to remain faithful to the Government which, for nearly twenty years, has remained faithful to them. Still it cannot be denied that there is in the bosom of that State a band of agitators, who, though few in number, are yet powerful from the public confidence they have enjoyed, and who have been, and doubtless will continue to be, unceasing in their endeavors to force Kentucky to unite her fortunes with those of the Rebel Confederacy of the South. In view of this and of the well-known fact that several of the seceded States have by fraud and violence been driven to occupy their present false position, I cannot, even with the encouragement of her late vote before me, look upon the political future of our native State without a painful solicitude. Never have the safety and honor of her people required the exercise of so much vigilance and of so much courage on their part. If to themselves, the stars and stripes, which, like angel wings, have so long guarded their homes from every oppression, will still be theirs; but if chasing the dreams of men's ambition, they shall prove false, the blackness of darkness can but faintly predict the gloom that awaits them. The Legislature, it seems, has determined by resolution that the State, pending the present unhappy war, shall occupy neutral ground. I must say, in all frankness and without daring to reflect upon the course or sentiments of any, that in this struggle for the existence of our Government, I am neither gratified nor grieved by Kentucky's neutrality. I would as soon think of being neutral in a contest between an officer of justice and an incendiary arrested in an attempt to fire the dwelling over my head; for the Government whose overthrow is sought is for the shelter only of those kindred incendiaries, but of every citizen's blessing which I can hope to enjoy on this side of the grave, if, however, from a natural horror of fratricidal strife, or from her intimate social and business relations with the South, Kentucky shall determine to maintain the neutral attitude assumed for her Legislature, her position will be a dishonorable one, though falling far short of that full measure of loyalty which her history has so constantly illustrated. Her Executive, ignoring, as I am happy to believe, all the popular and legislative sentiment of the State, has, by proclamation, forbidden the Government of the United States to land troops in Kentucky territory. This is, in no sense, a neutral step, but one of aggressive hostility. The troops of the Federal Government have as clear a constitutional right to pass over the soil of Kentucky as they have to march along the streets of Washington; and could this prohibition be enforced, it would be a direct violation of the fundamental law, but would, in all its tendencies, be directly in advancement of the revolution, and might, in an emergency easily imagined, compromise the highest national interests. I was rejoiced that the Legislature so promptly refused to endorse this proclamation as an expression of the feeling of the State. But I turn away from this to the ballot-box, and find an abiding consolation in the conviction it inspires, that the popular heart of Kentucky, in its devotion to the Union, is far in advance alike of legislative resolve and of Executive proclamation.

But as it is well understood that the late popular demonstration has rather soothed than killed rebellion in Kentucky, I propose inquiring, as briefly as practicable, whether, in the recent action or present declared policy of the Administration, or in the history of the pending revolution, or in the objects it seeks to accomplish, or in the course it follows, there is any ground where there can be discovered any reason why that State should sever the tie that unite her with a Confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battle-fields she has won so much honor, and under whose protection she has enjoyed so much prosperity.

For more than a month after the inauguration of President Lincoln, the secession seemed imminent, and that that Administration would seek a peaceful solution of our unhappy political troubles, and would look to time and amendments to the Federal Constitution, adopted in accordance with its provisions, to bring back the seceded States to their allegiance. So long as the Administration pursued this policy, quelling the Border States, and in reassuring their loyalty, that the conspirators who had set this revolution on foot took the alarm. While affecting to despise these States as not sufficiently interested in their devotion to African servitude, they knew they could never succeed in their treasonous enterprise until they had broken the ties that united them with the Federal authorities, in the hope that, under the panic and exasperation incident to the commencement of a civil war, the Border States, following the natural bent of their sympathies, would array themselves against the Government. Fort Sumter, occupied by the Federal troops, I turn away from it as if it were a dead letter, and find no ground for its reproachful batteries, afforded convenient means for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also their favorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhausted, and the request made by the President in the interests of peace and unity for the withdrawal of the Federal troops, had been refused. The Confederate authorities were aware—so the gallant commander of the fort had declared to them—that in two days a capitulation from starvation must take place. A peaceful surrender, however, would not have saved the citadel. They sought the dash of arms and the effusion of blood as an instrument for suppressing the Border States, and they sought the humiliation of the Government and the dishonor of its flag as a means of giving prestige to their own cause. The result is known. Without the slightest provocation a heavy cannonade was opened upon the fort, and borne by its helpless garrison for hours without reply, and when, in the progress of the bombardment, the fortification came under attack in flames, the besieging batteries, instead of relaxing or suspending, redoubled their fire. A more wanton or wicked war was never commenced on any government whose history has been written. Contemporary with and following the fall of Sumter, the siege of Fort Pickens was still actively prosecuted by the property of the United States Government, and extended to the capture of the forts of the South, by fraud or force, captured in the State of Texas in violation of a solemn compact with its authorities that they should be permitted to embark without molestation. This was the result which the Lone Star State sought to bring about, through long and weary years of privation, had guarded its frontiers against the incursions of the savages. In the midst of the most active and extended warfare preparations in the South, the announcement was made by the Secretary of War of the seceded States, and echoed with tumult and hoarse hurrahs by the Southern press, that Washington City was to be invaded and captured, and that the flag of the Confederate States would soon float over the dome of the Capitol. Soon thereafter there followed an invitation to all the world—embracing necessarily the outcasts and dependents of every scale of social and political degradation, to prey upon the rich and unprotected commerce of the United States.

In view of these events and threatenings, what was the duty of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic? He might have taken counsel of the revolutionaries and trembled under their menaces; he might, upon the fall of Sumter, have directed that Fort Pickens should be surrendered without firing a gun, and that the Government should be allowed to occupy fully the requirements of the "let-us-alone" policy insisted on in the South, he might have ordered that the stars and stripes should be laid in the dust in the presence of every bit of rebel hunting that might appear. But the duty of these things, nor could he have done so without forgetting his solemn duty to the people, and the most solemn trust that has ever been confided to the hands of man. With a heroic fidelity to his constitutional obligations, feeling justly that these obligations charged him with the protection of the Republic and its Capital against the assaults alike of foreign and domestic enemies, he trusted himself to the loyalty of the country for support in the struggle upon which he was about to enter, and nobly has that appeal been responded to. States containing an aggregate population of nineteen millions have answered to the appeal as with the voice of one man, offering soldiers without number, and treasure without limitation, for the service of the Government. In these States, of 1,000,000 free men cast their votes in favor of candidates supporting the rights of the South, at the last Presidential election, and yet everywhere, alike in popular assemblies and upon the tierced field, this million and a half of voters are ready yielding to the call of duty, and the thousands of the South have been called to the aid of the thousands of the North, and they realize that the question now presented is not one of administrative policy, or of the claims of the North, the South, the East, or the West; but, simply, whether nineteen millions of people shall tamely and ignominiously permit five or six millions to overthrow and destroy the Government of the United States, and have been the common blessings and glory of all. The great thoroughfares of the North, the East, and the West, are luminous with the banners and glistering with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the capital, or to other points of rendezvous; but they come in no selfish or mercenary spirit, but they come in the spirit of self-sacrifice, to defend her, her gardens, nor a blade of grass nor a field in unkindness. No excess will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The kind purposes of the Administration, and the high character of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the South as "traitors," and the high character of the offerings of the people, who would "rather die a handkerchief than fight an enemy in many combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and I presume, it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social good has been secured in a dozen of her gardens, nor a blade of grass nor a field in unkindness. No excess will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The kind purposes of the Administration, and the high character of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the South as "traitors," and the high character of the offerings of the people, who would "rather die a handkerchief than fight an enemy in many combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and I presume, it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social good has been secured in a dozen of her gardens, nor a blade of grass nor a field in unkindness. No excess will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The kind purposes of the Administration, and the high character of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the South as "traitors," and the high character of the offerings of the people, who would "rather die a handkerchief than fight an enemy in many combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and I presume, it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social good has been secured in a dozen of her gardens, nor a blade of grass nor a field in unkindness. No excess will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The kind purposes of the Administration, and the high character of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the South as "traitors," and the high character of the offerings of the people, who would "rather die a handkerchief than fight an enemy in many combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and I presume, it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social good has been secured in a dozen of her gardens, nor a blade of grass nor a field in unkindness. No excess will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The kind purposes of the Administration, and the high character of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the South as "traitors," and the high character of the offerings of the people, who would "rather die a handkerchief than fight an enemy in many combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and I presume, it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social good has been secured in a dozen of her gardens, nor a blade of grass nor a field in unkindness. No excess will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The kind purposes of the Administration, and the high character of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the South as "traitors," and the high character of the offerings of the people, who would "rather die a handkerchief than fight an enemy in many combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and I presume, it may be